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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2007

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RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVIET FORCES, GDR ARMY ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 19 Feb 82) pp 269-276

/'Analyses and Reports' feature article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, chief, East-West Editorial Staff, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne: "Occupiers or Comrades-in-Arms?--The Group of Soviet Forces in Germany"/

/Text/ Dates in history deserve to be remembered if they contribute to the better understanding of the present and the future. On 12 March 1957 the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed a treaty on issues involving the temporary stationing of Soviet Armed Forces. [1] This date may serve as an example to remind us that even a quarter century may be considered "temporary" within the scope of historic time.

After all, 12 years had passed since the Red Army had advanced to the Elbe by the time that Foreign Minister Dr Lothar Bolz and Defense Minister Willi Stoph, both then also deputies to the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, as well as Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko and Defense Minister G.K. Zhukov signed the agreement. Initially the units now described as the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany (GSFG) were called Group of Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany, because "the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany (GSFG) is an advance guard of the Soviet Army. It was set up on 10 June 1945 and, since 1949, has borne its present name. Its core was made up of divisions and regiments from the armies of the first Belorussian Front directly involved in the assault on Berlin."[2] After the troop stationing treaty had been negotiated, Premier Otto Grotewohl recalled the historical background when pointing out in the People's Chamber "that the stationing of Soviet armed forces in Germany is a consequence of the Hitler war. Initially it served the final destruction of the bloody fascist dictatorship and was intended to prevent its restoration. The fact that Soviet forces even now stand on German soil is due entirely to those West German and foreign imperialist forces who have so far prevented the establishment of a united and peaceful German state."[3] No such declarations are heard these days. Instead it is asserted "that the defense of socialism and peace lies in strong and reliable hands." Erich Honecker claimed this at a 1979 meeting with soldiers on the occasion of a visit to a GSFG guard motorized infantry regiment. "Our party and our entire people have the highest esteem for the Soviet soldiers, their outstanding military performance in the interest of socialism and peace here in the GDR, the border region between the two social systems. Sincere friendship has developed between the citizens of our countries and these forces, and this has successfully withstodd many tests. The comradeship-in-arms between the members of the National

People's Army and the Soviet armed forces reflects the fact that the GDR and the Soviet Union are for ever linked with one another."[4] And so on and so forth. The defense and security function of the armed forces stationed in the GDR is moved into the field of vision. Retained from the past is merely the description Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany--as a linguistic (no more than linguistic?) relict of the rights of the four Allies in divided Germany, although the 12 March 1957 treaty on stationing speaks throughout only of Soviet armed forces "stationed on the territory of the German Democratic Republic."

The Treaty on Stationing

The occupying forces thus became comrades-in-arms--at least in the opinion of the SED. Their international jurists[5] indicate 1954/1955 as the time of change. They point to the Soviet Government's declaration of 25 March 1954, where we find the first mention of the "temporary sojourn of Soviet armed forces on the territory of the GDR,"[6] as well as to the treaty on relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 20 September 1955. Article 4 of this treaty includes the following statement: "The Soviet armed forces stationed on the territory of the German Democratic Republic at the present time in conformity with existing international agreements, will temporarily remain in the German Democratic Republic on terms to be settled by an additional agreement between the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Soviet Union."[7] Exactly that happened by way of the treaty on the stationed of armed forces cited earlier. In addition we must take into account the fact that the establishment of the Eastern defense coalition--of which the GDR has been a member from the outset--is within the time context of this development: The Warsaw Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was concluded by eight countries on 14 Mah 1955.

The treaty on the stationing of armed forces has 22 articles. It preamble declares "necessary the temporary stationing of Soviet armed forces on the territory of the German Democratic Republic as consonant with international treaties and agreements" because it "responds to the concerns of the guarantee of peace and the security of the German and Soviet peoples as well as the other peoples of Europe." Analogous to articles 1 and 4 of the treaty of 20 September 1955, article 1 reaffirms that the temporary stationing of Soviet armed forces on GDR territory will "not impair" the GDR's sovereignty, nor will these forces "interfere in the internal affairs of the German Democratic Republic and the sociopolitical life of the country." As per article 2 any "questions regarding changes in the strength and location of the Soviet armed forces" in the GDR are to be the "object of consultations" at government level. Article 15 guarantees that barrack complexes, airfields, maneuver terrain, training areas, residential and other buildings, railheads, and so on "used by the Soviet armed forces at the time this treaty is signed" may continue to be so used. In addition to various legal provisions of a rather formal nature, article 18 finally sets out an emergency regulation. In the case of "the security of the Soviet armed forces in the GDR being threatened," this acknowledges the unrestricted right of the GSFG supreme command "upon appropriate consultations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic to adopt measures for removing such a threat."

The 12 March 1957 treaty does not include provisions governing GDR contributions to the cost of the GSFG stationed there. Such contributions were however made at least through 1958. At the Fifth SED Congress Soviet party and government chief N.S. Khrushchev reported the Moscow Government's decision "from January 1959 to forego

the payments made annually by the German Democratic Republic in partial settlement of the maintenance costs for the Soviet forces temporarily stationed on the territory of the GDR."[8] Of course this does not prove that the GDR now does not have to carry any of the financial burden arising from the stationing of Soviet forces on its territory. The opposite conclusion seems to arise from the fact that the "Mixed German-Soviet Commission" on the settlement of issues "related to the application of this treaty," set up as per article 19 of the treaty on the stationing of forces, includes for the GDR not only a representative from the defense ministry (currently Lt General Joachim Goldbach, deputy minister and chief of rear services) and the foreign ministry, but also a representative from the finance ministry (currently deputy finance minister Helmut Sandig). Moreover, the Soviets always have very senior officials attending the meetings of the commission--at the latest meeting Ambassador P.A. Abrasimov and Army General M.M. Saitsev, supreme commander of the GSFG.[9]

The treaty on the stationing of armed forces--supplemented on 2 August 1957 by a treaty between the GDR and USSR on reciprocal legal aid with regard to issues relating to the temporary stationing of Soviet armed forces in the GDR[10]--may be criticized from three aspects: The GDR is consulted when the strength and location of the GSFG is decided, but it is not permitted to have any say in the decision nor to raise objections. Secondly GSFG troop movements outside their GDR locations are not even mentioned in the treaty. And thirdly the GSFG supreme command may, in an emergency, adopt measures at its sole discretion; again the GDR Government may at best be consulted. Justifiably attention has been drawn to the fact that the treaty with the GDR differs substantially, at least in this respect, from similar treaties concluded by the Soviet Union with other socialist countries.[11] Neither of the two treaties of 12 June 1964 and 7 October 1975 on friendship, reciprocal assistance and cooperation between the GDR and USSR mentions the stationing of Soviet armed forces. It is therefore obvious that the 12 March 1957 is not affected in any way.

The GSFG--Formation, Strength, Supreme Command

No definite data or current figures relating to the strength of the GSFG are available from Eastern reports. According to Western sources the GSFG consists of land and air forces and, after the force reduction proclaimed by Soviet party and state chief L.I. Brezhnev in his speech on the occasion of the GDR's 30th anniversary, currently has 9 tank divisions, 10 motorized infantry divisions and 1 artillery division as well as a forward air force (2 air corps at 2-3 air divisions each).[12] "Before the above mentioned force reduction in the GDR, the strength of the Soviet armed forces stationed there has been estimated at about 400,000 men and more than 7,000 battle tanks."[13] According to official reports the withdrawal involved 20,000 men and 1,000 tanks.[14] It has not been determined whether the reduction in force related only to the withdrawal of complete units or also to the personnel of the rear services. There is no doubt that large-scale military transports left rail depots in Brandenburg, Jueterbog, Halle/Saale, Oschatz and Wittenberg in the period from 5 December 1979 to 1 August 1980--some in full view of demonstratively invited Western newspaper correspondents. The armed forces thus withdrawn and evidently confined to land forces are said to have been moved to assembly areas in the Western part of the Soviet Union.

The regiments, units and divisions of the GSFG--the largest Soviet military contingent outside the USSR--are largely assumed to be elite forces with a combat strength

and readiness well above the average standard of the Soviet Army. Every second regiment of the GSFG is a guard regiment.[15] Military experts estimate a GSFG tank division to have an actual strength of 11,000 men. The equipment ranges from 335-415 battle tanks, at least half of them of the most modern design, to 390-450 other tracked vehicles and 1,800-2,200 motor vehicles of all types. The strength of a motorized infantry division is assessed at roughly 13,500 men with 266 battle tanks, another 600 light armored and tracked vehicles as well as 2,100-2,300 motor vehicles of all types. Each tank and motorized infantry division also includes an artillery regiment, equipped with mortars, field and howitzer guns as well as 2 rocket launchers and 1 anti-aircraft battalion.

The GSFG air force--this means the 16th forward air army--is alleged to have available more than 1,000 aircraft, mostly of ultramodern design, 120 reconnaissance aircraft, 680 fighters and fighter-bombers, 100 light bombers, 120 transport aircraft and 120 combat helicopters.[16] In addition there are anti-aircraft rocket troops. Bombers and fighter-bombers are potential nuclear weapons carriers. Every year, in April and October, a special air bridge joins Soviet military airfields in the GDR with similar airfields in the Soviet Union, specifically to effect the exchange of some 100,000 GSFG personnel and their families within 14 days. Used for this purpose are civilian aircraft of Aeroflot; these operate from airfields in Brandenburg, Falkenberg, Merseburg, Parchim, Stendal and Templin.[17]

GSFG radiotechnical forces together with radiotechnical personnel of the National People's Army Air Defense exercise surveillance of the air space above the GDR's territory. They are joined in an "alert system" that operates round the clock and are incorporated in the air defense system of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

With respect to strength and formation the GSFG corresponds to an army group. It represents the core of the first strategic echelon of the Warsaw Pact Organization; this includes, in addition to the GDR's National People's Army, integrated divisions of the Polish Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army--probably also major units of the Soviet Army in the Western defense districts of the USSR.[18] The GSFG tests its own combat strength and readiness in its own command staff exercises and maneuvers, in joint maneuvers with the National People's Army (NVA) and multinational maneuvers within the framework of the combined armed forces.

Subordinated to the GSFG command staff, domiciled in Wuersdorf near Berlin, are five army staffs as well as the air force staff. Since early December 1980 Army General M.M. Saitsev has been supreme commander of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany.[19] Since February 1981 he has been assisted by Col General I.A. Gubin as head of the political administration and, since June 1981, by Col Gen I.F. Sviridov as first deputy and chief of staff.[20]

According to Soviet data[21] Army General Mikhail Mitrofanovich Saitsev was born in 1923. He has served in the army since 1941. He participated in World War II from 1942-1945, at the end as adjutant to the chief of staff of an army corps. In 1943 he joined the CPSU. In 1954 he graduated from the Military Academy for Tank Forces and, from 1957-1858, exercised the function of deputy chief of staff, subsequently chief of staff, of a tank division. From 1959-1968 he was deputy commander of a tank division. In the mid-1960's Saitsev graduated from the Military Academy of the Soviet Army General Staff, and from 1969-1980 was deputy commander, later commander,

of the Belorussian military district. Since the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress he has been a member of the CPSU Central Committee. His appointment as head of the GSFG signals his promotion to one of the highest ranks in the Soviet military hierarchy, a top job that offers every prospect of greater responsibilities to come. Some of his predecessors[22] in the GSFG supreme command later rose to be supreme commanders of the Warsaw Pact Organization's combined forces,[23] two even advanced to defense ministers of the USSR: Soviet Marshals G.K. Zhukov and A.A. Grechko.

As the supreme commander of the GSFG Saitsev is also a member of the combined forces military council, and so is Col General Ivan Arkhipovich Gubin, chief of the political administration of Soviet armed forces stationed in the GDR, born in 1922 and a graduate of the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy. He has been active in political work in the Soviet Army since 1951, last as chief of the political administration of a military district.[24] Before his transfer to the GSFG, chief of staff Col General Ivan Fedorovich Sviridov, born 1926, was head of the political administration of the Baku air defense district.[25]

The GSFG and the NVA

In its standard work on the National People's Army, the Thomas M. Forster study group draws attention to the fact that the GSFG has "located its forces in that part of the GDR, which is also the key location of the NVA land forces. Close cooperation between the GSFG and the NVA must therefore be assumed."[26] That is indeed the situation. It is actually quite easy to recognize that this cooperation has never been closer than now. At the present time the NVA is doubtlessly the most important military partner of the Soviet Union in Europe. Back in 1974 Erich Honecker was quite justified at a meeting of Soviet soldiers in Magdeburg to point out "that the comradeship-in-arms between the Soviet armed forces and the National People's Army has grown stronger with every year. The unswerving comradeship-in-arms among the socialist armies represents proletarian internationalism in action in the military field, and for us it manifests itself most of all in our relations with the comrades of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany. Cooperation between the staffs, divisions and units of both armies has achieved a qualitatively new stage especially in recent years. More and more directly does it affect the improvement of combat strength and readiness in the National People's Army. Our collaboration in the Alert System, common training as per coordinated plans and standardized norms, the common use of training bases, help in the mastering of new weapons and equipment, the fruitful exchange of experiences and performance comparisons have become everyday military reality, just as meetings for the purpose of sports and games, joint cultural events and intimate friendships among soliders."[27] Honecker's remarks, though not quite free of hyperbole, are fairly realistic in their description of the relations in effect between the GSFG and the NVA. Army General Saitsev, for his part, confirmed them in one of his first public remarks as the newly appointed GSFG supreme commander: "Relations between Soviet soldiers and the National People's Army are growing increasingly stronger in the course of carrying out the common tasks for the armed defense of the most forward line of the defense of socialism. For 25 years this cooperation has extended to all areas of life, of military and political training. Our comradeship-in-arms is daily lived in practice."[28] In any case it is more than the organization of joint meetings and comparisons of sports performances, joint excursions to memorials or joint military ceremonies and rallies such as have been current since 1968 when the GDR began to organize an annual "week of comradeship-in-arms" from 23 February to 1 March.

NVA relations with the GSFG, the "regiment next door," have long advanced to include common standard catalogues and performance comparisons in combat training and shooting. "Group starts of rockets, field camps of signal troops, the adjustment of methods for joint bridge building by pioneers as well as changing uses of certain training facilities served the steady improvement of combat readiness as well as training in mixed groups, crews and teams made up of members of the Soviet Army and the NVA."[29] Joint exercises are often quite martial in nature--for example the command staff exercise "Soyuz 81," in the course of which tanks, motorized infantry and artillery units of the GSFG and NVA, supported by fighters and helicopters, operated "in the central section of the GDR (!)" in spring 1981: "The training engagement began with complex artillery fire on the approaching adversary. Resources of all types of weapons were used. From the rear a tank destroyer section pushed forward. It aimed to prevent an attempted breakthrough (recognized in its earliest stage) by enemy tanks. ... In the meantime guns, howitzers and missile launchers added their voices. At regular intervals combat helicopters flew low over the field of battle, assumed firing positions on the rise and fired salvoes of unguided rockets. Covered by the persistent fire of the artillery and weapons systems of the air defense troops as well as aircraft, motorized infantry and tank units of the NVA and the Soviet Union, acting in unison and advancing in step, proceeded to counterattack..."[30]

Prescribed Comradeship-in-Arms

Logically such joint exercises require standard planning and preparation within a set period--and in fact agreements of all kinds on GSFG/NVA cooperation have been concluded ever since the 1960's. On 13 November 1964, the beginning of the 1964/1965 training year, a first "long-range plan was agreed for the further consolidation of the comradeshil-at-arms between the National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany."[31] It prescribed "all-round cooperation" between the GSFG and the NVA at all levels, "beginning with the ministry for national defense by way of military districts and commands, divisions and regiments, down to independent units." In addition to "close personal contacts between personnel of the NVA and GSFG" the long-range plan provided for the "purposeful and technical exchange of experiences between commanders and political workers," among others on "the methods of the work of commanders at all levels in the organization of military training and the study of weaponry and technical combat equipment" as well as "the method of operation of political organs" and "the practical work of noncommissioned officers and officers in the education and training of army personnel." This long-range plan "also remained in effect when, on 6 January 1965, the minister for national defense issued the order on cooperation between the National People's Army and the fraternal armies of the socialist countries with a view to deepening comradeship-in-arms."[32] This is evidence of the special nature of relations between the GSFG and the NVA. That special nature was again reaffirmed by the "order on the consolidation of the comradeship-in-arms between the National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany,"[33] issued by the defense minister on 18 December 1969. This sets out the principles of cooperation in the 1970's. Five years later three senior NVA officers summarized cooperation with the GSFG in the following three principles arising from earlier experiences:

"First: From the aspect of the incidence of measures as well as the participating personnel of the army, cooperation has acquire mass character... Second: Joint measures regarding education, training and the organization of leisure have become far

more systematic and consistent. Third: Contacts with the comrades-in-arms are more and more purposefully directed to raising the combat strength and readiness of the armed forces."[34]

It would surely be inappropriate to dismiss such statements as mere propaganda. They seem quite genuinely to arise from the maxim, mandatory on officers of the National People's Army, "that smooth cooperation by commanders, staffs and troops with those of the Soviet Army is a preeminent political and military duty."[35] [36] In the meantime a new order on comradeship-at-arms was issued on 23 January 1978. This renders ineffective its two predecessors of 6 January 1965 and 18 December 1968. According to the new order, it seems that operational plans are agreed annually between the GSFG and the NVA. The signing of a "plan of joint measures for deepening cooperation in the 1980/1981 training year" by Col General Heinz Kessler, chief of the NVA's main political administration, and Col General I.S. Mednikov, then chief of the GSFG political administration, for example, was reported in the GDR press.[37]

Nevertheless, in view of the fact that it requires regimentation by special orders, there does not appear much substance to the piously emphasized claim for comradeship-in-arms. It may be confined to cooperation in working hours. Outside such hours comradely relations with the "regiment next door" are maintained at best by NVA officers, especially because, unlike their men, they are not obstructed by the language barrier.

Nothing is to be seen of extra-hour relations between GSFG and NVA rank and file personnel. It is hard to imagine spontaneous contacts--the comrades-in-arms meet one another only in an organized and therefore controlled setting. This probably due to many factors. Among others Soviet solders stationed in the GDR serve in far more oppressive conditions than their German comrades. Their housing conditions, far removed from residential areas, are ghetto-like, and usually they are far worse equipped than NVA barracks. Discipline is much harsher in the Soviet Army, pay much lower than for GDR soldiers who, moreover, are conscripted for 18 months, 6 months less than their Russian comrades. From that aspect alone it appears that unsupervised meetings are hardly desirable. A man-to-man "exchange of experiences" might be politically damaging from the standpoint of the CPSU and SED. Unless ordered from above, comradeship-in-arms is no more than a myth.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Treaty between the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Issues Related to the Temporary Station of Soviet Armed Forces on the Territory of the German Democratic Republic, dated 12 March 1957," in: "Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" /Documents on the Foreign Policy of the Government of the German Democratic Republic/, vol 5, Berlin 1958, pp 677ff.

2. "The Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 February 1980.--On the history of the group see Wolf Oschlies, "Thirty Years 'Group Soviet Armed Forces inGermany'," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV No 10/1975, pp 1019ff.

3. From the government declaration by Premier Otto Grotewohl on the result of the Moscow negotiations, report to the People's Chamber on 16 January 1957, quoted in "Documents on the Foreign Policy...," as before, p 83.

4. Erich Honecker, "Reden und Aufsaetze," /Speeches and Essays/, Vol 6, Berlin 1980, pp 520 and 525.

5. See Jens Hacker, "Der Rechtsstatus Deutschlands aus der Sicht der DDR, Abhandlungen zum Ostrecht" /Germany's Legal Status from the Standpoint of the GDR, Treatises on Eastern Law/, Vol 13, Cologne 1964, pp 250ff.

6. Soviet Government declaration of 25 March 1954 on the establishment of full sovereignty for the German Democratic Republic, in: "Documents on Foreign Policy..." as before, vol 1, Berlin 1954, pp 303f.

7. "Treaty on Relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 20 September 1955," as above, pp 280ff.

8. "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" /Record of Proceedings at the Fifth SED Congress/, vol 1, Berlin 1959, p 281.

9. See "Conference of the Mixed GDR-USSR Commission," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 November 1981.

10. See note 1, pp 699ff.

11. See Stephan Tiedtke, "The Status of the GDR in the Warsaw Pact Organization," in: "Die Nationale Volksarmee" /The National People's Army/, Reinbeck 1976, pp 42ff.

12. See "Die Armeen der Warschauer Pakt-Staaten" /The Armies of the Warsaw Pact Countries/, published by Friedrich Wiener, 7th edition, Munich 1979, pp 62ff; Mg: "Federal Republic of Germany/German Democratic Republic--National Forces and Forces Stationer There," OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT No 1/1981, pp 58ff; H.M.: "The Military and Arms Potential of the Soviet Union," ibid, No 1/1982, pp 17ff; and "Streitkraefte 1981/1982, Die 'Military Balance' des Internationalen Instituts fuer Strategische Studien, London," /Armed Forces 1981/1982, The 'Military Balance' of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London/, published by the Study Group on Defense Research, Munich 1982, p 39.

13. Mg: as above, p 61.

14. See "USSR Set an Example," TASS on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the GDR, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2 August 1980.

15. See "Every Second GSFG Regiment a Guard Regiment," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 June 1980.

16. Details on the arms and equipment of the GSFG may be culled from technical military literature (note 12).--A general and highly informative survey is also offered by the so-called Pentagon Paper, "Soviet Armament," published in German translation by the Bernard and Graefe Publishing House, Munich, and supplemented in an appendix by two Federal Government replies on the armament of the Warsaw Pact countries and a comparison of United States-USSR strength.

17. See "Soviet Exchange of Forces in the GDR Has Begun," DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 18 April 1980; and "Soviet Exchange of Forces in Progress in the GDR," ibid, 23 April 1981.

18. See Stephan Tiedtke: "Die Warschauer Vertragsorganisation" /The Warsaw Pact Organization/, Munich-Vienna 1978, pp 65f.

19. See "Close Comradeshipin-Arms for the Defense of Peace and Socialism," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 December 1980.

20. See "Tribute to Col General Mednikov," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 February 1981; also "Scharnhorst Order Bestowed on the Chief of the GSFG Staff," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 June 1981.

21. See "Annual of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia 1981," Moscow 1981, p 578 (in Russian).

22. Earlier supreme commanders were the Marshals of the Soviet Union and Army Generals G.K. Zhukov (1945-1946); V.D. Sokolovsky (1946-1949); V.I. Chulikov (1949-1953); A.A. Grechko (1953-1957); M.M. Sakharov (1957-1960); I.I. Yakubovsky (1960-1961 and 1962-1965); I.S. Koniev (1961-1962); P.K. Koshevoy (1965-1969); V.G. Kulikov (1969-1971); S.K. Kurkotkin (1971-1972) and Y.F. Ivanovsky (1972-1980).

23. Marshals Grechko, Yakubovsky and Kulkov transferred from the function of supreme commanders of the GSFG to that of supreme commanders of the Warsaw Pact Organization's combined forces. In one case the transfer was in the opposite direction: Marshal Koniev was supreme commander of the combined forces when appointed head of the GSFG in summer 1961: He was to hold the supreme command during the cordoning off operation of 13 August 1961 and was recalled soon after, in April 1962.

24. See note 21, p 574.

25. As per information from the All-German Institute, Berlin.

26. Thomas M. Forster: "Die NVA-Kernstueck der Landesverteidigung der DDR" /The NVA--Cornerstone of the GDR's National Defense," fifth edition, Cologne 1979, p 99.

27. See note 4, vol 3, Berlin 1976, p 100.

28. Mikhail Saitsev: "Born in the Battles for the Defense of the Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 February 1981.

29. Klaus-Ulrich Keubke/Toni Nelles/Heinz Oeckel: "On the Development of Comrades-in-Arms Relations between the National People's Army of the GDR and the Soviet Army in the 1970's," MILITAERGESCHICHTE No 1/1978, p 28.

30. Dietmar Jammer/Rainer Funke: "Comrades-in-Arms Show Their Worth at the Command Staff Exercise 'Soyuz 81'," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 April 1981.--The exercise lasted from 17 March through 7 April 1981 and took place with the participation of Polish and Czechoslovak units not only in the GDR but also in Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

31. Quoted by Klaus-Ulrich Keubke: "Two Documents on the Comradeship-in-Arms of the NVA with the Soviet Army and the Other Socialist Fraternal Armies (in the mid-1960's)," MILITAERGESCHICHTE No 1/1982, pp 83f.

32. Ibid, p 82.

33. Quoted by Klaus-Ulrich Keubke: "On the Comradeship-in-Arms between the National People's Army and the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany in the 1970's," MILITAERGESCHICHTE No 2/1980, pp 205ff. (The author reproduces the full text of the 1969 comradeship-in-arms order)

34. Hermann Mueller/Karl-Heinz Schulz/Paul Wollina: "Warschauer Vertrag--Schild des Sozialismus" /Warsaw Pact--Shield of Socialism/, Berlin 1975, p 135.

35. Ibid.

36. In a footnote Keubke (note 33) indicates the new comradeship-in-arms order without quoting from it. Its full designation is "Order No 030/9/007 by the Minister for National Defense on the Consolidation of Comradeship-in-Arms Relations between the National People's Army of the GDR and the Fraternal Armies of the Socialist Community," of 23 January 1978; it is therefore not restricted to relations with the Soviet Army or the GSFG although those relations are crucial.

37. See "Plan for NVA-GSFG Cooperation Signed," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 November 1980.

11698
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ACHIEVEMENTS, FAILURES REVIEWED ON FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF 12TH CONGRESS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Mar 82 p 1

[Editorial: "One Year after the 12th BCP Congress--Unswervingly and Consistently on the April Course"]

[Text] When the 12th Party Congress closed, Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared, "This was a good congress, a strong congress, a congress of decisive significance for our further development."

Twelve months have passed and with still greater reason we can repeat those words today: yes, events have proved that the congress, which began its proceedings on 31 March 1981, has exceptional and historic merit for the party, the people and the state. This is clear now; it will be appreciated even more categorically by our posterity and successors. For the 12th Congress is a peak in our party congresses. A peak from which one sees especially vividly both what has been done and what lies ahead.

If we have to characterize briefly the year that has passed since the 12th Party Congress, we have sufficient reason to call it a time of creative restlessness, of the development of initiative and a search for the best solutions to problems. It was during this period that our theory and practice were enriched by several important party documents which are a continuation of congress policy and a concretization of its remarkable theses. We refer to the following: Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech on "Some Problems and Tasks involved in Fulfillment of the Decisions of the 12th BCP Congress," delivered at the National Conference of Party, State, Economic and Social Activists on 24 October 1981; the address of our first party and government leader, made at the traditional meeting of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee with student youth on 7 December 1981; Comrade Todor Zhivkov's detailed answers, published in our press, to the questions of Robert Maxwell, president of Pergamon Press publishing house; his programmatic statement regarding questions about the cooperative movement in our country at a meeting with the Executive Committee of the Central Cooperative Union. We give this reminder of these four documents since they have become events for the whole of public opinion, have given forward impetus to theory and have provided serious stimuli for the practical efforts of the working people whom they concern.

How great is th. importance, for example, of the problem of the material and technical base of mature socialism, the basic ways of building it, clarification of the

role of the owner and proprietor of every enterprise and the responsibility of the worker? The party has clearly determined that this problem of creating the material and technical base of mature socialism at the level of modern scientific and technical progress is and will be the great decisive problem in our development both up to 1985 and in the next decade. This has dictated consistent efforts for the mass dissemination and adoption in practice of the achievements of pacemakers, for full modernization and full automation, and for switching the entire national economy from the track of extensive development onto the track of intensive development. This task--revolutionary in its design, pace and results--shapes all the efforts of all the collectives. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's latest speeches to the plenums of okrug people's committees in Burgas and Silistra raise again, exceptionally forcefully and sharply, the problems of intensification, which must become the core and burden of party, administrative and economic activity from top to bottom and along the entire front of the campaign to build socialism in our country. The sharpness appeared despite no small progress, despite solid gains. We should mention here that despite difficulties resulting from the international situation which has worsened through the fault of the imperialist powers and, above all, the United States, and despite the fact that there are subjective weaknesses, our economy both last year and during the first quarter of 1982 continued to develop at a steady rate that is one of the highest in the world; the living standard is stable and the tranquility of the domestic economic front is a fact requiring no proof. Yet despite these unquestionably favorable phenomena, the party even now, a year after the 12th Congress, with great force emphasizes how much we still have to do in all areas in order to implement entirely the transition to intensive development, to achieve a significant rise in the social productivity of labor and, on this basis, meet more and more fully the high material and spiritual needs of every family, of every person. The ways of achieving these results are known. There are no secrets here--everything is in the hands of the people. "Nothing comes free in this world," Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared in his speech to the congress. "To consume more, more material and spiritual goods have to be produced." And here precisely is where we still encounter many shortcomings--both laxness towards the quality of output and loose discipline, laggardness in adopting new things, squandering of raw materials and labor resources, a wrong attitude towards the appeal to economize on fuel and electric power everywhere, and the wasting of precious time. We must rehabilitate the factor of time: how profound in its connotation is this slogan of the congress--and how much more we have to work if we are to respond to the demands with real deeds! The right thing will be if in every unit, in every labor collective, the campaign to save time and use it to best purpose becomes a fundamental criterion for assessing party, administrative and economic work, becomes a problem whose successful solution will result in a number of advances in the labor, political, ideological and educational activity of primary party organizations and of entire collectives. By steadfastly pursuing the policy of general intensification and combining it with the adoption of the new economic approach and its mechanism and by creating conditions everywhere for everybody actually to earn his labor remuneration, we can shortly reach considerably higher peaks and make the time before the next party congress especially fruitful.

The year that has passed is characterized by a number of new and favorable aspects in inner-party life. The main thing is the policy of elevating the role and fighting efficiency of the primary party organization in the campaign to fulfill the decisions of the 12th Congress. The review that is now under way must contribute to

raising the level of ability of every primary party organization to fulfill the role of a political staff in the campaign to implement the intensification policy, to educate labor collectives as the proprietor of socialist property, and to mobilize communists and working people to translate into deeds and results the economic, social and cultural policy of the party at the present-day stage. What is fundamental, decisive and imperative now is party work--among the people, party concern--for the people, and the efforts of every organization--for direct and constant work among the members of the particular collective. What is especially important for every primary party organization is feeling the pulse of collectives, living with the problems, thoughts and attitudes of the people, giving prompt answers to the questions that arise, being always in the forefront and in this way successfully fulfilling its leadership role. This is what the bureaus and committees and all communists should concentrate their efforts on. Maximum concreteness in both ideological and organizational and political work, continuous ideological support of political and economic goals without evading difficult and pointed questions, frank and businesslike chats with the people--this is the behest of the congress which must be carried out with still greater vigor. Numerous fine examples, which are abundant in practice, show the right way.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has made spectacular progress in its development; the Bulgarian people are now living in the most fruitful period of their thirteen centuries of history. And this is no accident. It is a result of the right policy which the party is implementing--Marxist-Leninist policy, April policy. In its resolution on the 25th anniversary of the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the 12th Congress noted, "The April policy is the Leninist general line of the BCP during completion of the transition from capitalism to socialism, under conditions of triumphant socialism, during the campaign to build a developed socialist society and the gradual changeover to the building of communism in Bulgaria."

All our progress is the fruit of this April policy, of faithfulness to the April line. And there is no doubt that faithfulness to this line is the main prerequisite for the new and even greater achievements we have to win in the next few years by labor and persistence.

6474
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PRAISE FOR LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA'S WORK, IDEAS CONTINUES

Culture Committee Chairman's Speech

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Speech by Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture at the first session of the Initiative Committee of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation: "Among Us Today and Forever"]

[Text] Dear guests, ladies and gentlemen, comrades:

For me it is a stroke of good fortune and a high honor to be able to greet in the name of the membership and of the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic such esteemed personages in the arts and figures in the cultural, economic and political life of our country and many others in the world. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for responding to the invitation to meet in Sofia on such a noble occasion.

I hope I express our common opinion if I say that we are united by a single thought and impulse: peace and peaceful cooperation on behalf of a continuous upward trend of culture, on behalf of social progress. We are united by what in our time we call the "spirit of Helsinki." The strength of this spiritual unity is lasting and eternal. It brings us closer together despite the differences of socioeconomic systems and the political creeds that we profess.

We are about to exchange opinions regarding the practical steps involved in the creation and activity of the new international foundation, which gives profound meaning to our impending talks. We are inspired by Lyudmila Zhivkova's sacred memory and by her lofty humane work. She was a remarkable daughter of our people, a striking personality in our spiritual life, a dedicated builder of modern Bulgaria. Lyudmila Zhivkova's pure and humane ideas and her strivings for harmony and beauty, for unity and creativity, for peace and friendship, as well as what she created in her short life, have won her the love and esteem of the people in our country and of wide public circles in many countries.

I speak of all this with emotion because many of us knew her élan vital and the profundity of her thought and creative undertakings. She had the marvelous talent of lighting the flame of Good and turning it into a blazing torch of progress.

Suffice it to recall that Lyudmila Zhivkova was the originator and organizer of our National Program of Esthetic Education, of the Banner of Peace International Assembly and a number of initiatives of international importance. A warm-hearted person, a talented scholar and researcher, she enriched the life of the people and inspired in them her belief in peace, friendship and cooperation. Efforts to protect the peace, strengthen friendship and cultivate cooperation among nations characterize the policy of our party and government. This lofty humane goal is also served by the proposal, made at a meeting of the Balkan countries by Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, to discuss the idea of turning the Balkan peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, into a zone of peace and good neighborliness.

Comrades, ladies and gentlemen. Just a year ago, during the days of the approaching 1300th spring in socialist Bulgaria, Lyudmilla Zhivkova said, "The spring in Bulgaria, in the Bulgarian land, is the spring of the renascent new spirituality, of the eternal striving, implanted and living in the people, after Beauty, Freedom, Creativity."

I recall these words because contained therein is her yearning for a new world illumined by social justice, by creativity and beauty, by life and strength, by happiness and a peaceful sky for our children. Can anyone doubt that the place of such a person is in fact among us--today and forever?

Writers Union Chairman's Speech

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 11 Mar 82 p 1

[Speech of Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of Union of Bulgarian Writers: "A Human Being as Precious as Fine Gold"]

[Text] I thank all who have given me their confidence. The ideas that have brought us together here tower above individual feelings; therein lies their grandeur. Lyudmila Zhivkova's ideas summon us to think of every living human being's individuality and of the whole of society through the prism of universal laws of Beauty rather than subordinate these laws to our personal passions. This basic, self-sacrificing and heroic element in the work of Lyudmila Zhivkova and the assay value of that human being as precious as fine gold are today recompensed by the exceptional recognition, admiration and sense of debt that bring us together here at this first session of the Initiative Committee of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation.

(Lyubomir Levchev then introduced the participants to the session.)

He continued further:

Like a true daughter of the Bulgarian people, of a new socialist Bulgaria, like a spark wrested from the steel of time and the flint of truth, Lyudmila Zhivkova perceived the necessity of the unity of human creative forces in the name of that beauty, by the force of whose laws, we believe, the future of the world will be built and controlled. Lyudmila Zhivkova was nurtured and inspired by a philosophy,

as much national as international, that affirmed and always will affirm that peace is the sacred condition, without which the spiral of unending human development and self-perfection is impossible. She devoted her whole life, she burned herself out selflessly and self-sacrificially, transforming into real conditions and real achievements the expansion of the horizon of human consciousness, the awakening of the creative principle, its perfection and realization in qualitatively new, versatilely and harmoniously developed personalities in a world of beauty and harmony.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was not just one of the many giddy visionaries of mankind. She combined the force of ideas with the force of deeds to form the cutting edge of a beam of light. The Banner of Peace Movement, conceived and created by her, and the international assembly of the same name, which received unqualified recognition from a small child's heart to the United Nations, remain and evolve as a glowing symbol and a monument not made by human hands.

We are now brought together by the apprehension and the hope that this wealth beyond price should not be frittered away, that so lofty a creative impulse should not fade away in the cold haze of indifference, that Lyudmila Zhivkova's work shall continue.

The nature of the foundation, just as Lyudmila Zhivkova's work itself, has deep national roots. This is the tradition of the church founders and donors who in all the distant centuries built the temple of Bulgarian spirituality. Somewhere at the very end of the book or far from the altar the hand of the scribe or icon painter, now frozen in death, has left us a fleeting marginal note or fresco, but these shy evidences move our hearts more deely today than the sacred images of God Almighty.

Again according to this tradition of ours, during the most frightful days for the country through the collection of donations which joined daydream to great idea, national reading rooms were built, these cherished lamps of education, from whose sparks the conflagration of the struggle for national and social liberation was kindled.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's ideas inspire us with the April spirit, reminiscent of this Bulgarian national revival. They are a precious first fundamental contribution and we believe in the future of a new, genuine people's foundation. And thus the purpose of our gathering is to unify our common appeal for the setting up of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation, which will take up the flame from her heart and pass it on to the future. Drafts of the documents necessary for convening the foundation's constituent assembly have been distributed to all participants in this first session of the Initiative Committee of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation. I request our friends and colleagues who have already been appointed to one of the four working commissions of the Initiative Committee, viz., the commission on organizational and technical questions, the commission on international relations, the commission on financial and commercial questions, and the commission on the constitutional instrument and other normative documents, after familiarizing themselves with the drafts, to give us their recommendations before the end of the month of April so that we can take them into consideration in organizing the constituent assembly.

the great ideas belong to all who have a heart open to them. And, it seems to me, it was a symbolic moment when Mr Lorenzo Maria Gallo announced at the 21st International Golden Mercury Conference the proposal that a Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation be set up where cooperation between the spiritual and the economic sphere should be established on behalf of progress and peace on the planet. Thus was lifted up, simply and courageously, the heavy cross of noble ideas, thanks to which the human spirit is inherited, human civilization evolves, and we profess the hope that tomorrow will be more humane, happier and worthier.

In his concluding remarks Lyubomir Levchev emphasized that the unity of thought and words, strikingly manifested in the session, gives rise to great joy. The meeting proceeded successfully and this inspires optimism for the future. We see Lyudmila Zhivkova's image, work and ideas bringing us together and uniting us anew with the noble ideal of harmony and beauty in the name of peace. And in this unity of ours we see the simple miracle of the overcoming of physical death, a human being with high ideals proving stronger than all else. This unity of ours gives us the right and duty not only to appeal for the creation of the foundation, but also to set about organizing the constituent assembly for it at the beginning of July 1982, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the birth of our dear Lyudmila Zhivkova.

6474
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ADVANTAGES OF TRACKED, WHEELED ARMORED VEHICLES DISCUSSED

Prague OBRANA LIDU in Czech 13 Mar 82 p 6

[Article by Jozef Honzer: "Wheels or Tracks?"]

> [Text] Driver Pvt J. Blazek, measuring device in hand, checks the spacing of 11 pins on the stretched upper section of a tank track. His eyes move along the pins and shoes to make sure that none of them is broken. The clanking of tank treads quickly reveals the presence of this crew on the range. "High-quality performance of the mission at the range also depends on correct stretching of the tank track," the company commander declares, "so that the driver will not have to change direction while on the move and throw the sight-setting off." Accordingly, hitting the target on the first shot involves not only correct ranging of the weapon and correct engine speed, but also the skill of the driver and careful preparation of the vehicle.

The date 15 September 1981 marked 65 years since the first use of tanks in combat. Have they then, by a human analogy, reached an honored old age? Have they a claim to a pension? By no means; when we prepare to use them again in exercises, time is of little importance. The weapons, engines and armor of these vehicles are being modernized: would not an advanced running gear design also be worthwhile? Might it not be a timely step to replace tracks with wheels? Let us consider in more detail the advantages offered by both these types of drive.

Mobility is unequivocally in favor of wheels, not only because of the greater speed that is possible, but also because of vulnerability. Tracks are at a disadvantage in this respect. If it is hit, the entire running gear is wrecked, and the tank stops. In the case of 4-axle or 6-axle vehicles, generally only one wheel is hit and they can move out of the line of fire. Helpful factors in such a situation are the emergency cycle of modern tires and equalization of air loss by another feed system, using equipment for regulating the air pressure in the tires.

Because of their inflation, tires also are helpful in swimming. Otherwise, under extreme combat conditions it is difficult to determine the advantages of either of the systems. We know that tires slip somewhat in snow and ice. But we assume that, especially in dynamic phases of battle, vehicles would avoid impassable areas.

Both evidence and tradition speak in favor of tracks. Tracks have a smaller specific ground pressure, making it easier for them to move in soft ground. Tracks are not vulnerable to small-arms fire or to shrapnel from grenades. A decrease in the air pressure to increase traction results in increased wheel effort and a higher tire temperature, which decreases their life. More than half a century's use of tracks has led to improvement of the drive and transmission systems to the point that even with tracks a modern tank has extreme mobility and maneuverability and the capability of overcoming difficult manmade and natural obstacles.

Another factor in the balance is the tank's vulnerability resulting from the ease of locating it. The problem is noise. Because of the smaller engine power needed, a wheeled vehicle is harder to hear, and it is not given away by the clanking of treads. The smaller engine power which is required in a wheeled vehicle also makes possible better thermal insulation, which decreases the likelihood of discovery by modern infrared detection methods.

Both tracked and wheeled vehicles can carry weapons. The wheeled vehicle allows better gun stabilization and more precise laying, which is the problem we noted at the beginning of the article. Experts may object that the stabilizer reliably eliminates vibration in tanks and that, on the contrary, the vibration of springs or the tires themselves may be much more important.

It is difficult to foresee what will decide the issue. Also significant are production expenditures, which affect every project, even if in this case it would be possible to use the capabilities of the automotive industry. It is possible that both tracked and wheeled tanks will appear in the future and that armored personnel carriers, which are generally wheeled, will come to use tanks. Also possible is the use of a dual system.

The combat value of every armored vehicle results from its weapon. Mobility and crew protection are equally important, but the designer always thinks of the vehicle's mission. He considers whether it is intended for a brief, powerful blow or for fast deployment over short distances in a meeting engagement. Also critical is the requirement that the vehicle withstand an enemy nuclear strike and thus be as well suited as possible to the nature of modern combat.

These principles of armaments are reflected in the development of our army. International division of labor and socialist integration enable our industry to concentrate its facilities on the research, development and production of equipment which will be suitable for the other Warsaw Pact armies as well. Systematic improvement of armaments proceeds simultaneously with mutual improvement of the effectiveness of development and production, where there is no place for speculation, accident or whim.

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BRIEFS

AFGHAN STUDENTS--At present more than 200 Afghans are studying at the CSSR institutes of higher learning. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 82 p 6]

PHYSICIANS TO KAMPUCHEA--A group of Czechoslovak physicians has left for Kampuchea to work 6 months in the Kompong Som Hosptial within the framework of urgent medical assistance to developing countries. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Mar 82 p 2]

AUXILIARY SECURITY FORCE--In Western Slovakia there are currently 983 units of auxiliary public security guards, with a total of 8,050 members. Since 1977, a total of 3,019 new members were received in the units in the region. The average age of the members is becoming lower--about 50 percent of them are less than 40 years old. Since 1977, 82 new units have been set up. During the last 5 years the units in the region ascertained 176,837 transgressions, 4,635 offences, and 4,076 criminal acts; they apprehended 445 wanted persons; and passed on to the public security bodies 8,401 bits of information on antisocial activities. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 82 p 2]

COOPERATION WITH MOZAMBIQUE--An agreement on cooperation between the Chambers of Commerce of Czechoslovakia and Mozambique was signed at the conclusion of his Prague visit by Armindo de Brito, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of the People's Republic of Mozambique, who visited the CSSR from 23 to 25 March at the invitation of Ludvik Cerny, chairman of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 82 p 2]

COOPERATION WITH ITALY--The mixed Czechoslovak-Italian commission meets in Prague on 23-26 March. It is discussing the program of cultural, educational, scientific and medical exchange between the governments of the CSSR and the Italian Republic for 1982-84. This document was signed this Thursday in the Cernin Palace; within its framework both sides expect a further successful cooperation in all spheres which the program amends. In the course of deliberations the Italian delegation was received by Mecislav Jablonski, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 82 p 2]

SLOVAK COOPERATIVE FARMERS--At its Bratislava session on 16 February, attended by Rudolf Vanco, head of department in the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, the Slovak Committee of the Union of Cooperative Farmers evaluated the union's activities since the Ninth Congress of unified cooperative farms; approved the budget for 1982; approved certain cadre questions; released T. Bohdanovsky from his post as acting deputy chairman and member of the Slovak Committee of the Union of Cooperative Farmers; and coopted J. Gajdos as member of the union's Slovak committee, simultaneously electing him acting deputy chairman. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Feb 82 p 2]

PREPARATIONS FOR WFDY ASSEMBLY--Prague, 16 Mar (CTK)--The 2-day session of the Bureau of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), which was concluded this Tuesday in the Palace of Culture in Prague, was devoted to preparations for the 11th WFDY Assembly. The supreme gathering of the largest youth organization in the world will take place at the beginning of this June in the CSSR capital. "The main item on the agenda of the June assembly in Prague should be the activation of the fight waged by the progressive youth throughout the world for peace and disarmament," Miklos Barabas, WFDY secretary general, stated in his talk with the journalists. Part of the assembly will also be an international tribunal called "Youth Accuses Imperialism," and a peace rally in Lidice. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 2400/211

EXISTENCE OF CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SYSTEM ACKNOWLEDGED

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 25 Mar 82 p 6

['Theory and Practice' feature article by Dr Peter Kranenpuhl, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Are Contradictions Alien to Socialism?--On Driving Forces That Must Be Controlled"]

[Text] The problem of contradictions in socialism is an area of continual controversy-among the friends of socialism as well as among its opponents. Capitalist mass media especially try to "make it clear" that, in general, contradictions in socialism must be seen in a negative light. They say that the existence of these contradictions runs counter to the great socialist ideas of early socialists, including Marx and Engels. This capitalist interpretation of contradictions then becomes part of a general campaign against socialism.

In this interpretation, contradictions are considered the same as errors, difficulties and conflicts, i.e. aspects resulting from deficient attitudes of men and originating from subjective causes, e.g. the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party of the working class or the socialist state.

If we accept this anti-socialist argumentation, the question arises why, in countries dominated by imperialism, contradictions arise with such violence and why they lead to considerable social upheavals. The conclusion must be that contradictions exist in capitalism just as in socialism. Their moral condemnation does not in any way result in a clearer understanding of their character.

To Understand Their Character

It is therefore absolutely necessary to analyze their character and their role in the development [of socialism]. In contrast to capitalism, contradictions in socialism have a non-antagonistic character. They are not an expression of an irreconcilable class polarization, and their solution does not result from class struggle. The character of the contradictions in a society is determined by the character of the production conditions from which these contradictions and consequently also the form of their solution arise. Seen in a positive light, contradictions in socialism exist through and in the actions of friendly classes. Solutions are found through joint work under the

scientifically oriented leadership of the party of the working class. These contradictions are just as objective here as in other areas of realities.

How do these contradictions become obvious?

To Understand Them in Theory

Contradictions are the internal driving forces of a changing reality. The development of socialist society is a process of gradual and continual progress, and also of quick changes in particular areas. At the present time, this could be demonstrated especially by the need to develop quickly a new attitude in dealing with material and raw materials in an economical way in order to make further progress possible--and thereby also continuity. Almost "over night" an established relative balance is being abolished. One condition is replaced by another. It becomes clear that in this balance exist contradictory tendencies that act as causes. Stability and instability, continuity and discontinuity replace one another and require reactions that are ever adapted to new circumstances. The existence of contradictory tendencies not only points to the existence of contradictory aspects, the unity of these tendencies is at the same time their form of movement.

From the objective character of the contradictions in socialism follows the necessity of continually understanding them in theory. From the fact that we are dealing here with contradictions in a society liberated from exploitation and that these contradictions can be analyzed with the important tools of Marxist-Leninist sociology we cannot conclude that these contradictions will run their course and develop their functional driving forces automatically. On the contrary, these contradictions challenge our actions as harsh conditions of daily work, the mastery of scientific analysis, prudent innovative action, high-level commitment and discipline.

There is no doubt that in the process of understanding and solving contradictions, mistakes and conflicts are possible. Although every mistake is painful, we are equally certain that faults can be reduced to a minimum or avoided completely through joint socialist action, criticism, self-criticism and [work on] a high ideological level. Faults must thus be considered not as a necessary but rather an accidental attribute of contradictions in socialism, and the two must not be considered identical. Analysis of these contradictions demands strict objectivity and the clarification of internal and necessary connections inherent in appearances.

As important as the problem of understanding is that of making objective contradictions the basis of action. This process contains three aspects: the origin, the development and the solution of contradictions.

The origin lies in the solution of previous contradictions and also follows the interaction of different social phenomena, e.g. the adaptation of the advantages of socialism to the scientific-technical revolution. This last problem is, as Lenin observed, especially interesting in the development of socialism, e.g. the interaction between democracy and centralism in the structural progress of party and state. Frequently certain social processes develop relatively

independent from one another. Thus, socialism grows on the soil of unsolvable social contradictions of capitalist society where they have become powerful economic and social conflicts and where they appear also in contrasting aspects of man and reality. On the other hand, the mastery of the scientific-technical revolution, if it is not to be limited to individual achievements, is conditioned by a high development level of the economy and the working class as well as of intellectual capacity. The two sides do not always develop at the same time. Each individual communist party must therefore consider very carefully when and in what way it changes over to the broad and most total possible combination of socialism and scientific-technical revolution.

The development of contradictions has two essential aspects: the development of the necessary objective and subjective conditions, and the mastery of the time factor.

To Utilize Their Driving Forces

The solution of contradictions may consist of the transition from one quality to another, and also of the transition from the "old" contradiction to a "new" form of movement. Thus it can be stated without hesitation that the contradiction between the development state of production and the needs of society constitutes an "eternal" driving force in the development of mankind. However, each individual form of society develops a different social mechanism that advances the development of social needs. There is a considerable difference in whether the two develop as aspects of capitalist profit making or whether, as under socialism, the total economic, political and spiritual activity of the workers is directed under the leadership of the party of the working class toward the fulfillment of socially necessary needs. Among these needs the most important ones are no doubt the preservation of peace, social security and steady social progress because on these depend all others, such as personal happiness etc.

The total understanding of contradictions in socialism thus means that they must be used as universal driving forces of progress.

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GREATER MOBILITY, ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY FOR ARMED FORCES CITED

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 19 Feb 82 p 4

[Interview with Col Gen Werner Fleissner, GDR deputy minister for national defense, by Manfred Strzoletz and Holger Arnhold; date and place not specified: "To Protect Peace Is Our Class Mission — Modern Combat Equipment Places Greater Demands on Consciousness, Knowledge and Ability"]

[Text] Colonel General Fleissner was born in 1922, learned the trade of a pattern maker and joined the People's Police [VP] in 1946. He gained experience in responsible positions in the VP, KVP [Garrisoned People's Police] and NVA [National People's Army], in courses and by graduating from the Friedrich Engels Military Academy. He has been deputy minister for national defense since 1964. He has received high GDR and foreign decorations.

[Question] The National People's Army of the GDR will soon celebrate the 26th anniversary of its founding. How do you view the development of our People's Army?

[Answer] These 26 years are a part of the successful development of our socialist fatherland. Our party has, in accordance with the Leninist teaching about the necessity of collective defense of socialism, adapted the military policy of developing the National People's Army into a combat-effective coalition army.

The firm unity of the people and the army is of great significance for the successful balance of our armed forces. Remembering our great responsiblity for the peaceful life of our citizens and the entire socialist community, we do everything to ensure that a war will never again start on German soil. Our military class mission is to give the imperialist forces of American imperialism and NATO no chance to plunge our people and the peaceloving peoples of the world into the inferno of a world nuclear war.

[Question] The military industrial complex in the imperialist countries continues to plan and build new weapons of mass destruction. Neutron bombs, cruise missiles and MX missiles are the latest examples. For our servicemen these mean new efforts in mastering modern combat equipment to secure peace.

[Answer] You are right. From the aggressive policy of American imperialism and the Reagan administration in particular, world peace is threatened to a degree not seen since the end of World War II. The aggressive military strategic plans of these reactionary forces have been recently disclosed in detail in a documentation of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

It is, among other things, convincingly proved that the aggressive confrontation course of the Reagan administration permeates all aspects of American policy. These unscrupulous politicians want to shift the military balance to their favor by the mid-1980's.

Our peace policy, the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence radiates a great force that mobilizes peaceloving people in the entire world and establishes clear limits to the boundaries of power of the imperialist forces.

We are today faced with the task of preventing imperialism from starting a third world war, of protecting the peoples from indescribable suffering and guaranteeing favorable external conditions for the continued strengthening of socialism. The peacekeeping mission of our armed forces has significantly increased. For this reason we close ranks even closer with the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies. At the same time the demands on consciousness, knowledge and ability of our servicemen increase because of the high state of development of our modern military equipment and armament.

[Question] How do you assess the technical state of development of the National People's Army?

[Answer] Our National People's Army is a modernly equipped army which, as a coalition army on the frontier of the aggressive NATO pact, is ready at all times to defend the socialist homeland. A process is underway in our armed forces which, among other things, is characterized by an increased transition from the simple weapon to the weapon system, a significant increase in measuring, control and regulating elements as well as electronic tracking and fire control devices and the employment of microelectronics in all services.

Motorization and mechanization of the troops have reached a high state. In the ground forces, for example, the degree of motorization in the mid-1970's was about 25.74 kW (35 hp). This has since increased to 36.73 kW (50 hp) per soldier.

These examples alone make it clear that the high combat value of our military equipment places significant demands on the training of our serviceman and demands a great sense of responsibility for operational readiness, for mastering and using new technology on the battlefield, at sea and in the air.

[Question] Which requirements on the soldier's life result from the enormous technical development?

[Answer] Typical is the transition from the individual fighter with a single weapon to the responsibility of military collectives, squads, crews and troops of the most different arms and services. But the responsibility of each

individual in the collective has also increased by the same degree. The significance of cooperation between arms and services has likewise increased. All these in turn place high demands on each serviceman.

I want to make this clear with one example. Under present conditions only the exact cooperation of all our air defense forces participating in the vectoring of a modern interceptor guarantees the effective engaging of an aerial enemy flying at supersonic speed. If the reaction of the pilot is delayed by only one-third of a second, this can result in course deviations of 300 meters or more.

Today the time factor is proving to be an important criterion of military mastery. Only fractions of seconds pass between the detection of a target, determining the range with a laser rangefinder, transmitting the data to the onboard computer and opening fire.

The "hit with the first shot, the first rocket, the first salvo or during the first pass" movement arising from the socialist competition in our army has proven to be a great force in meeting demands.

Today the soldier must be able to independently compute, control, measure, regulate, dejam, evaluate and process data. In modern combat this all takes place under the most tense physical and mental stress.

[Question] In our enterprises young people can show their talent in many ways. Not least of all in the innovator movement. What is the status of this in the National People's Army?

[Answer] Being a good soldier also means being able to think and act economically in the military sense because modern equipment embodies material and financial values in ever increasing degrees. Thus its correct use, servicing and maintenance is, among other things, an area of concentration in socialist competition and in the innovator movement. The innovator movement made possible a higher military use and a saving of 11 million marks last year.

Exemplary also is the operation and use of trainers, simulators and other modern training devices with which we satisfy the requirement for greater intensity and effectiveness in training. Thus, for example, at the 24th Central MMM [Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow] we rewarded a youth collective of the Ernst Thaelmann Higher Officers' School which had created a universal crane trainer. This device is used for initial and continuation training of hoist equipment operators and maintenance personnel as well as for exactly evaluating the state of training. This has resulted in saving valuable material and financial means and the device is also available for further use in the civilian economy.

[Question] Are important prerequisites created prior to military service?

[Answer] That is correct. Decisive foundations have been established by our workers' and peasants' state in that our youth receive solid education and training.

We view socialist upbringing in production, in the enterprise, from the work collective as one of the most important prerequisites. By gaining this at work, our young people receive important fundamentals for their personality development and the formation of the socialist defense motivation. We can then build on this in the army.

[Question] What possibilities of development do young people have who select a longer period of service in the army?

[Answer] The structure of our military higher and professional schools and the technical noncommissioned office [NCO] schools offer broad prospects to each applicant for a military profession. The officer's profession requires completion of an institute of higher education which awards a diploma. Each warrant officer completes a professional school and the career NCO qualifies as a master.

A communications troops career NCO, for example, can gain the qualification of a communications or electronics technician. There is also the chance to attain the qualification of a master of HMSR [Main Administration for Industrial Measuring, Control and Regulating Technology] equipment and even more. During actual service all career military personnel are covered by a continuation training system. Career officers have the opportunity of a second higher education at an NVA academy or at one of the fraternal armies. Scientific personnel have the opportunity to complete doctoral work.

[Question] Could you give our trade union members and functionaries a tip on directions for working with young people?

[Answer] The conscript eligibles who have already been active in political work, in socialist competition, innovator work and also in sports in their work collective bring the best prerequisites for army service. The struggle to achieve scientific and technical progress in the enterprise and for higher effectiveness in the work process is a good preparation for service with us.

It is important that trade union members, trade union functionaries and, in particular, reservist collectives, carry out concrete individual work with young people. In this case we consider the assumption of sponsorships until conscript service begins or until training as a career military person to be an effective form of work. It should be noted that the association between the work collective and the serviceman should be allowed not to lapse but rather should be continued to be maintained.

We, the members of the National People's Army, express our profound gratitude to our class comrades, to the workers of our German Democratic Republic, to the brigades, to the collectives of socialist work for the continual solicitude about reliable socialist national defense and the close relation of trust to our army.

8373
CSO: 2300/196

GUIDELINES ON CITIZENS' TRAVEL TO WESTERN COUNTRIES ISSUED

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 9, 17 Mar 82 pp 187-188

[Official text of "Order of 15 February 1982 on Regulations for Travel by GDR Citizens," signed by Friedrich Dickel, minister of interior and chief of GDR People's Police, in East Berlin on 15 February 1982]

[Text] In implementation of the resolutions by the GDR Council of Ministers, the following order is issued concerning travel by GDR citizens to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin:

Article 1

(1) At the invitation of relatives, GDR citizens may receive permits to travel from the GDR to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin in connection with urgent family matters.

(2) Urgent family matters referred to in paragraph 1 are: births; youth consecrations; confirmations; first communions; weddings; 25th, 50th, 60th, 65th and 70th wedding anniversaries; birthdays (60th, 65th, 70th, 75th birthdays and all subsequent ones); critical illnesses; and deaths.

(3) Within the limits of the grounds listed in paragraph 2, permits may be issued as follows:

For births:

a) One month prior to the anticipated due date for purposes of providing care, or up to 3 months after the birth;

b) On the occasion of the christening

For weddings:

a) On the occasion of the civil marriage ceremony;

b) On the occasion of the church wedding

For 25th, 50th, 60th, 65th and 70th wedding anniversaries:

a) On the occasion of the respective anniversary of the civil marriage ceremony;

b) On the occasion of the respective anniversary of the church wedding

In cases of death:

a) Up to 3 months after the death has occurred;

b) On the occasion of burial any time within this period

(4) Proof of the existence of grounds for travel must be established through documents, official certificates and/or official medical confirmation.

(5) Exit permits for travel to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin in connection with urgent family matters may be granted to grandparents, parents, children and siblings (including half-sisters and half-brothers) residing in the GDR.

Article 2

(1) Citizens of the GDR who have reached legal retirement age, or who are disabled, may be granted permits to travel from the GDR to visit relatives in nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin for reasons other than those stated in Article 1.

(2) Exit permits may be granted once or several times a year for periods up to a total of 30 days -- up to 3 months for travel to states outside Europe.

Article 3

(1) When applying for permission to travel from the GDR to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin, employed persons must submit written approval from their place of employment.

(2) In urgent cases, travel by private automobile from the GDR to nonsocialist states and (West) Berlin may be authorized.

Article 4

(1) This order takes effect on 15 February 1982.

(2) The following orders simultaneously cease to be in effect:

"Order of 17 October 1972 on Regulations for Travel by GDR Citizens" (GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part II, No 61, p 653);

"Order No 2 of 14 June 1973 on Regulations for Travel by GDR Citizens" (GESETZBLATT DER DDR, Part I, No 28, p 269).

7458
CSO: 2300/227

BRIEFS

PUBLIC ECONOMIC, POLITICAL DEBATING CLUB--An open club for debating topical economic and political issues has been established by the Section for Agitation, Propaganda and Leisure of the Budapest Committee of KISZ. Named the Vox Politicae, the club selects topical issues and invites well-known specialists to express and debate their views. At the first session of the new forum, the topic was: "Only Renewal Will Enable Us To Keep Pace." Among the panelists was Academician Tibor Vamos, director of the Institute of Computer Technology and Automation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The debate drew an audience of 150 persons. The next meeting is scheduled for 23 March, and the topic to be discussed is "Connections Between Science, Ideology and Policy." [Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 20 Mar 82 pp 2, 31]

CSO: 2500/217

INCREASED RATES FOR POSTAL, TELEPHONE, TELEGRAPH SERVICES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 33, 31 Mar 82 pp 1-3

[Council of State Decree No 122 of 27 March 1982 on Increase in and Improvement in the Correlation of Rates for Mail and Telecommunications Services on Econonomic Principles]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The rates for domestic mail, telephone and telegraph services are correlated on economic principles and are increased differentially depending on the real expenses for operation and maintenance of the mail and telecommunications resources so that complete coverage of costs and a corresponding profit are insured for each service separately.

Article 2. The rates for the main mail, telephone and telegraph services are as provided in Appendices Nos 1-3.

For other services the rates are established by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, with the agreement of the State Committee for Prices, under the conditions provided in Article 1 and through correlation with the rates included in Appendices Nos 1-3.

The rates in lei for international mail and telecommunications services are set by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, with the agreement of the State Committee for Prices, insuring recovery of the domestic expenses and currency expenses and a corresponding profit, also taking into account the international conventions in which the Socialist Republic of Romania takes part.

Article 3. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications is to take measures to:

a) Reduce production costs in mail and telecommunications activity and to rationalize the distribution of the mail and the press;

b) Reduce the special consumption of materials and electric energy, recondition and modernize telecommunications installations and improve the technical operations indicators;

c) Use the national telecommunications network more completely and utilize the reserves in the network, improve service to the national economy and the

population by raising the quality of services in the area of mail and telecommunications.

Article 4. With a view to insuring the technical conditions for applying the new rates for local telephone calls, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications and the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrotechnical and Electronics Industry are to take measures to manufacture and supply all mail and telecommunications units with appropriate equipment by 30 June 1983, spread out until that time.

Also, the Ministry for Machine Construction Industry is to take measures to manufacture simple transportation means to supply the mail and telecommunications units for the purpose of reducing costs in the transport of mail sent.

Article 5. The ministries, other central organs, executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils as well as units subordinate to them are to take measures for the rational use of telephones, for rationalization of mail and telecommunications expenses and other administrative-management expenses so that they fit into the plans of expenses approved, under conditions of the application of the new rates.

Article 6. The Ministry of Domestic Trade and the Central Union of Cooperatives for the Production, Acquisition and Sale of Goods are to take over from the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, within 90 days, the stands and shops which sell the press and are to take measures to change them into complex points for the sale of the press and other products, for the purpose of better utilization of these sales points.

Article 7. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance are to make proposals for introducing the appropriate changes in the economic and financial plan indicators as well as in the volume and structure of the 1982 state budget as a result of application of the provisions of this decree. Toward this end, the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications is to present the necessary documents on influences in economic and financial indicators within 30 days.

Article 8. Appendices Nos 1-3 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 9. This decree goes into effect on 1 April 1982. The applicability of rates for mail and telecommunications established by legal provisions prior to this decree ceases on the same date.

Appendix 1: Rates for Domestic Mail Services

Name of the service	Unit	Lei/unit
Simple postcard:		
Local	one	.50
Other locations	one	1.00
Illustrated postcard:		
Local	one	1.50
Other locations	one	2.00

Name of the service	Unit	Lei/unit
Simple letter up to 20 grams:		
Local	one	1.50
Other locations	one	2.00
For each 20 grams or additional fraction	20 grams or fraction	.50
Registered letter up to 20 grams:		
Local	one	3.50
Other locations	one	4.00
For each 20 grams or additional fraction	20 grams or fraction	.50
Home newspaper delivery	one copy	.25
Money order by mail or telegraph:		
a) Fixed rate, regardless of money order value		
Local	one	1.00
Other locations	one	1.50
b) Rate in proportion to value of money order	100 lei or fraction	.50
The telegraph rate is added for telegraphic money orders		
Savings and loan bank operations	operation	1.50

Messagers

	Rates per kg and by zones (km)				
	I	II	III	IV	V
	0-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	More than 400
Mail	1.50	2.00	2.50	3.00	3.50
Train	.60	1.00	1.20	1.50	1.80
Plane	--	2.50	3.50	4.00	--
Boat	.60	1.00	1.50	1.70	2.00

Rate for notification on parcel 1.00

Appendix 2: Rates for Domstic Telephone Service

Name of service	Unit	Lei/unit
Telephone subscription for home of physical persons and for socialist units and other legal persons:		
Individual line--150 impulses	Monthly	100
Party line (for two)--75 impulses	Monthly	50
Party line for apartment central--100 impulses	Monthly	60
Subscription for phones installed in hotels for private parties, in private shops, in foreign firms and representatations, embassies:		
Individual line--150 impulses	Monthly	200
Two-party line--75 impulses	Monthly	100
Additional calls	Impulse	.50

Name of service	Unit	Lei/unit
Calls at urban public posts	3-minute call	1.00
Installations of new phone posts	post	1,500
Moving of telephone post	post	800
Interurban telephone calls		
Zone I up to 100 km	minute	3.00
Zone II between 101-200 km	minute	5.00
Zone III between 201-400 km	minute	6.00
Zone IV more than 400 km	minute	7.50

Appendix 3: Rates for Telegraph Service

Name of service	Unit	Lei/unit
Simple local telegrams:	Telegram	4.00
Up to and including 10 words	Telegram	4.00
For each additional word	Word	.25
Simple telegrams--other localities:		
Up to and including 10 words	Telegram	6.00
For each additional word	Word	.50
Telex:		
Zone I	Minute	1.00
Zone II	Minute	4.00
Zone III	Minute	6.00

8071
CSO: 2700/250

TRAGEDY OF EXPATRIATES IN NEW YORK DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 18 March 1982 pages 24 and 25 publishes an article entitled: "It Happened in New York" by Craciun Ionescu, reporting on the difficulties experienced by Romanians who have left their country to live in the United States, New York City, in particular. Most of the article is devoted to the Miu family, Rodica Nat' lia Miu, formerly a mathematics teacher in Bucharest who taught the autho.'s son; her husband, Ion Miu, also a mathematics teacher; and their daughter Mihaela. They went to Morocco in 1973; sent by the Romanian Government to teach in a school in Casablanca. They remained there 6 years "honorably fulfilling their obligations, just like other Romanians who teach in Moroccan schools, in the framework of the program for cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries." When they were in Casablanca, the Miu family were often visited, in their home, by an American "cooperant," who was also a mathematics teacher. When they returned to Romania, they filed requests for emigration, stating that they wanted to go to New York where they had been promised stipends to study for their doctorates at "City University." In April 1981, they left for America, with their daughter Mihaela, 14 years of age, and went to live at "2606 18th Street in Queens, New York."

"We do not know what happened to the promises received earlier but, probably, after they had spent all their hard currency savings, which they had amassed in Morocco, the Miu family was in a precarious financial situation. The two mathematics professors had to work as taxi drivers. It seems that the shattering of the illusions with which they had come to America, the depression of everyday life, and despair played a principal role in the tragic end of this family, about 3 months ago."

"According to documents compiled by the American authorities, the Mius and their daughter were found dead in their residence in New York on 9 December 1981. Natalia Rodica and Mihaela were knifed to death and Ion was poisoned to death. The conclusions of the inquest conducted by the American police officials was that the mother and daughter were killed in a moment of despair by the head of the family who then committed suicide by drinking poison."

"I have before me several letters sent to the Romanian authorities by people who, in a moment of madness, left the country where they were born and lived, allowing themselves to be deluded by the false myths of a foreign land, which, as soon as they arrived there, they succeeded in deciphering. The reawakening often comes too late when they have already fallen into the final stage of human misery."

The writer gives some excerpts from letters from Augustin Murar, a graduate of the faculty of chemistry and physics in Cluj, currently living in New York, who wants to return home; from Lenuta Iliescu, who came to live in the United States in 1978, with other close relatives. Her greatest desire is that her 20-year-old son be allowed to continue his education in "the bosom of the Romanian State, a true parent which educates its sons in the spirit of the dignity of the human personality, and which is incomparable in its level of civilization, considering the decadence of the degenerate youth here [in the United States]"; from Gheorghe Lecu, who asks to be returned to his family as soon as possible; from C. Dumitrescu, professor of physical education and sports in Bucharest, currently in New York with his family. He confesses his error in leaving his country and asks for repatriation.

CSO: 2700/265

IRAQI VICE PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED ON NONALIGNMENT

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 82 p 3

[Interview with Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of Iraq, on 28 March 1982 in Baghdad by a group of OSLOBODJENJE and TANJUG journalists: "A Great Deal of Work Has Been Put into Preparations for the Seventh Summit"]

[Text] Taha Yasin Ramadan, the first deputy prime minister of Iraq and the commander-in-chief of the Iraqi National Army, received a group of Yugoslav journalists on 28 March in Baghdad. The group included OSLOBODJENJE journalists Feto Ramovic, Ljiljana Smajlovic and Dragan Miskovic and TANJUG journalists Mirko Aksentijevic and Dejan Vasiljevic. In an hour-long conversation, the first deputy prime minister of Iraq answered several questions.

[Answer] "The nonaligned movement has encountered and is [still] encountering many trials, but it has become an irreplaceable necessity for the modern world. The original principles of the movement are the only basis for intensifying cooperation among the nonaligned countries and thereby strengthening their international position," Taha Yasin Ramadan emphasized at the beginning, [while] assessing the development of the nonaligned movement in the 21 years of its existence.

Gratitude and Acknowledgement to the Founders

[Answer] In the 1980's, the nonaligned movement--President Tito played an exceptionally significant role in its founding--has become even more essential and is gaining more and more adherents in the world. What makes this movement strong are its original principles and their broad applicability. The large number of member countries is a factor in the movement's strength, but the most important factor is precisely the broad applicability of the original principles. We wish to express our gratitude and acknowledgement to the founders of the nonaligned movement and to promise that we will continue to enrich the experience of the movement and extend the principles that it has represented for almost a quarter of a century.

[Question] The seventh summit meeting of the nonaligned countries will be held soon, and your country will be the host. Mr Deputy Prime Minister, can you evaluate the progress of the preparations for the summit meeting to date?

[Answer] Our extensive work in preparing for the seventh nonaligned summit meeting in Iraq is the result of our sincere hope that this summit meeting will play a substantial role in promoting the development of the nonaligned movement. Iraq and Yugoslavia share a common desire for the conference to contribute to strengthening the original principles and the movement itself and to strengthen its activities for the welfare of the movement as a whole. In spite of the wartime conditions, we have continually made efforts to provide all of the conditions and facilities [required] for the successful work of this meeting. Today we can say that we have overcome all of the difficulties associated with holding the summit meeting. The facilities that we will place at the disposal of the delegations will meet their requirements in regard to lodging, comfort and other conditions. It is our sincere hope that the conference will be successful.

[Question] The nonaligned movement is making great efforts to build a new and more equitable international economic order. What is your view of this part of the activities of the nonaligned countries, and how do you view the possibility of overcoming the existing development gap between the rich North and the undeveloped South?

[Answer] The nonaligned countries and their movement are an active factor in the struggle for a new international economic order. We must persist in the development of this process. This goal cannot be achieved only on paper. The building of a new economic order requires as high as possible a degree of mutual cooperation and coordination, because on this level, events in the economy of one country must also affect economic trends in other countries.

For the Achievement of True Independence

The question is how to achieve cooperation among the nonaligned countries, the countries of the so-called Third World and the undeveloped countries, in order to strengthen them [enough] to resist the influence of stronger economies. There are many proposals on how to achieve the desired goal, but among them I wish to emphasize the possibility of creating a special fund, as well as other measures aimed at reducing the rate of inflation. A special fund to encourage the development of the developing countries, which was proposed by President Saddam Hussein at the sixth nonaligned conference in Havana, could be a factor in aid to the Third World countries. If a country is not economically independent, this will also affect its other state activities. The struggle for a new international economic order, together with its political aspects, is really a struggle to achieve true independence for the nonaligned and developing countries.

[Question] What is your view of the prospects for constructing mechanisms to prevent the outbreak of conflicts between nonaligned countries?

[Answer] It is our sincere hope that the nonaligned movement will be able to construct a mechanism that would prevent the emergence of conflicts between countries belonging to the nonaligned movement. Iraq has long been working to achieve this goal. In February 1980, President Saddam Hussein delivered a

speech in which he pointed out possible ways of ending the disagreements and differences that exist among the Arab countries. To a great extent the same principles for resolving problems and disagreements can also be applied to relations among the nonaligned countries. It would be very useful for the nonaligned movement to concern itself with this question.

Concerning Peace Initiatives

[Question] Mr Deputy Prime Minister, what do you think of the current peace initiatives for settling the Iraq-Iran conflict?

[Answer] Our attitude toward the peace initiatives is a principled one and is closely connected with our position that we do not have any ambitions toward or claims to Iranian territory. Although we were victorious from the first week of the war, at the same time from the beginning we expressed our desire to have the problem resolved by peaceful means and we offered our sincere support of all peace initiatives aimed at ending the Iraq-Iran conflict. We are repeating the same hope and desire even now. It is too early to give an assessment of all of the peace initiatives, but we hope that there will be even more efforts and more intensive ones, to reach the goal and end the conflict.

The first deputy prime minister of Iraq then explained that his country is prepared to accept any peace efforts, but that at the same time, it is prepared for war, no matter how long, because there cannot be any alternative to achieving full Iraqi sovereignty over its own territory, on land or at sea. Ramadan stressed that every Iraqi citizen, young or old, male or female, knows that the country and its leadership are doing everything possible to achieve their rights. "We are willing," Ramadan said, "to prove to everyone that we do not have any claims on Iranian territory and we think that Iraq is fighting for its rights, as other countries should also fight for theirs."

[Question] What is your assessment of the present critical situation on the front, especially in the southern part, where battles are being conducted at this very moment?

[Answer] Our assessment is that a critical situation on the front is better than an exhausting war. After 19 months of battle, we are still on Iranian territory. If Iran were inclined toward peace and if it were prepared to recognize our rights, we would not have anything against withdrawing from the occupied portions of Iranian territory. Our troops are on a front about 1,200 kilometers long. We do not want to advance further, although we can. At this time the Iranians have concentrated almost three-quarters of their forces on a front about 20 to 30 kilometers long, and the battles have already been going on for 7 or 8 days.

[Question] Mr Deputy Prime Minister, you are also the commander-in-chief of the Iraqi National Army. What can you tell us about the role and significance of this army, which does not belong to the regular armed units?

[Answer] The units of the National Army are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the regular Iraqi Army, and they are on the front line. Their contribution begins on the domestic front, in Iraq, and their task consists of assisting the regular units on the front. The soldiers in the National Army are very well trained, armed and equipped; about 70,000 of them are fighting in the war. There are about 400,000 members of the National Army and our plan is to increase this number to 500,000 during the forthcoming period.

In response to a question about his view of the most recent events in the occupied territories of Palestine and other possible repercussions, Ramadan said that this is concrete proof and an example of how the continual deterioration in the international situation has a negative effect in crisis areas. Through increased mutual cooperation, the nonaligned countries can contribute in the best and most effective manner to halting the present negative trend and opening the way to improving the general atmosphere. The superpowers have openly demonstrated their intention of achieving some influence in certain nonaligned countries Ramadan considered this dangerous and added that this can be eliminated only through an overall strengthening of the movement and consistent application of its original principles.

Great Prospects for Bilateral Relations

[Question] Iraqi-Yugoslav cooperation can be considered very satisfactory, on both the political and economic levels. Nevertheless, not all of the possibilities for improving it have been fully exploited. In your opinion, in what fields can this be achieved most rapidly and most effectively?

[Answer] Our ambition is to intensify and promote our bilateral relations with Yugoslavia. We ascribe particular significance to the principles on which our mutual relations are based; President Tito contributed the most to this development. Our cooperation is marked by numerous possibilities for us to help one another by complementing each other. Thus on the Iraqi side there are no limitations of any kind in regard to the areas for our cooperation, because all of the areas are equally open for cooperation. Our assessment of relations with Yugoslavia is based not only on our economic cooperation, but also on the extent of the understanding between the two countries and the extent to which both countries benefit from our mutual relations. With some other countries we may have economic relations that surpass our relations with Yugoslavia in volume, but this does not mean that we have better relations with those countries than with Yugoslavia. My assessment of our relations is therefore not based just on quantitative factors but rather on qualitative ones. When relations are based on such firm principles as here, cooperation is always more solid and more advanced. As an official who has himself contributed a fair amount to the development of this cooperation, I believe that a great future is before us in developing our mutual cooperation.

9909
CSO: 2800/340

COMMENTATOR VUCELIC SPEAKS OUT ON CURRENT TOPICS

Striking No Crime

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1629, 21 Mar 82 p 18

[Articles by Milorad Vucelic]

[Text] In a recent session of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia there was discussion of the activity of law enforcement authorities in combating crime last year. There was mention of the number of cases of economic crimes discovered, of misdemeanors against public peace and order, and so on. The report compared the most recent figures with figures from previous years, it spoke about the increase or decrease in percentages. All of this of course arouses attention and opens up possibilities for reflection and for studying and discovering the real causes and consequences of particular phenomena and for examination of directions for future efforts.

However, particular attention is drawn by the fact that newspaper reports on this session, carried under the overall headline: "The Fight Against All Kinds of Crime," includes the following:

"The number of work stoppages in the republic dropped from 74 in 1980 to 58 in 1981. The number of participants in stoppages also decreased--from 5,881 the year before last to 2,745 last year."

The reference, then, is to work stoppages, or, more precisely put, to strikes. We have nothing against law enforcement authorities keeping records on work stoppages. Someone must obviously keep those records--and if there happens to be no one more specifically assigned, it is good that at least someone is keeping them.

The most amazing thing is that the strikes are registered, compiled and treated as forms of criminal behavior, as criminal phenomena.

As is well known, strikes are a form of the struggle of the working class to realize its class interests and thereby the general interest as well. From the entrance of the working class on the historical scene up until the present day the strike has been a legitimate form of the proletariat's class struggle.

Nor has the strike lost its essential working class character in the countries which have a socialist system. There are very persuasive articles and analyses on this by many Marxist theoreticians and we also have the positions taken by sociopolitical figures.

Strikes also have specific features (without losing their social essence) in a society which is building self-management socialism. Neca Jovanov, author of the well-known book "Radnicki strajkovi u SFRJ" [Worker Strikes in the SFRY], says:

"Our worker strikes mainly occur because of an increase in the difference between the actual state of self-management and the self-management system which has been projected. They objectively alter the situation that exists in the direction of the projected self-management system. That is what distinguishes our strikes from strikes under capitalism and state socialism, which are directed both against the real and against the projected system. In our case the workers ought to have the moral and political right to those strikes which speed up achievement of the projected self-management system." In spite of this favorable general definition, we naturally cannot speak of every strike as something constructive. The strike is a contradictory social phenomenon whose true essence we can penetrate only on the basis of a concrete analysis of the causes, immediate pretexts, effectiveness, and so on, but it is certain that strikes or work stoppages are by no means a pathological social phenomenon which can be included among crimes. The strike is a manifestly social phenomenon, a conflict which has a class character.

In the situation when we rightly present the evidence on the tendencies toward a narrowing of both the economic and sociopolitical foundation of self-management and when we rightly emphasize vigilance in preserving our country's security and the achievements of the revolution, we must be ready to stand in the way of any contribution to preservation of that type of consciousness which would translate certain inherently social phenomena of broad importance into cases placed in the jurisdiction of those agencies predominantly concerned with crime. Where a certain type of dogmatized consciousness sees only unrest and disturbances of the peace, we are perhaps dealing with quite complicated social transformations within society's very social reality. That kind of thinking should not be accorded approbation in any manner whatsoever, not even by placing work stoppages under the heading of crime.

Versions of History

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1630, 28 Mar 82 p 13

[Text] For years we have been confronted by an approach to our quite recent past which can be described as embellishing and glossing. Instead of being what it is, instead of being the drama of difficulty choices in difficult times, in one type of predominant interpretation history has been turned exclusively into a web of dates, historic events, meetings, battles, conferences, straightforward sessions, and undiscriminating generalizations to suit the occasion, along with an abundance of hoked up enthusiasm from which the human content, the entire human dimension, has vanished.

This has been abundantly furthered by a goodly portion of the artistic output, especially films and television series which in spite of the fabulous sums of money spent on them, have been of modest artistic stature, to say the least, and which appear not only to have created repugnance on the part of the young generations, but by virtue of their false picture have also exerted a strange influence on participants in the war, often much greater than was exerted by experience of the war itself.

In short: Too often we have only taken note of the past, instead of contemplating it and authentically assimilating it. The high requirements of socialist thought--a critical attitude toward the tradition, is being subjected to increasingly frequent exceptions and is ceasing to apply when one's own tradition is in question.

Alongside what we have noted there is an ongoing process of the strengthening, development and support of the petit bourgeois mentality, of a gossipy "culture," of entertainment based on chatter produced for mass circulation and with a big hype. A full-blown sensibility has been created which has erased the boundary between the public and the private; acts of the highest principle have been transformed into private acts, into the worst kind of behavior through an intrigue conducted out in the open. The modes of reflection of the man in the street have been translated into media. An almost dominant mentality has been created in society, a mentality of lack of interest in any question pertaining to the meaning of our survival. It seems this has been made to order for many, since that mentality and sensibility and its most outspoken representatives have not touched upon certain painful problems, questions of power, and the feeling has been that it would be easy to deal with this kind of petit bourgeois mass mentality.

Then in the last decade there came an outright invasion of various bits of information which did not fit at all in the prevailing and manufactured picture of the idealized past. Various eyewitness accounts were gathered, memoirs were published in book form and installments, history projects were undertaken in various regions--and all these discoveries and "discoveries" had a variety of motives. Often they were authentic. Sometimes attempts were made to accuse and blame the very essence and nature of the movement and the revolution because of slips people made in their own past. Sometimes and very often the "discoveries" resulted from disagreements with the current political situation.

In any case, regardless of the motives and reasons which have brought the data and facts into the public domain, every document must be valuable or at least necessary in the process of assimilating our own past, and as such it deserves a certain attention. All movements which believe in the productive force of the truth (and that applies first of all to the communist movement) must always aid everything which makes it possible to establish and to round out the historical truth. There was a need for a critical commitment to contemplation and rumination of all that new knowledge, those new documents, this unique "discovery of history." Regardless of the occasionally shocking nature of the various kinds of new information which came to light, there was a need and there is a need to persist in the sober effort to arrive at the historical--

and thereby human--truth, a truth which does not satisfy any sort of desirable and given-in-advance doctrinairism. There was also a need to wonder about the reasons why some of the revelations caused so many shocks.

It is precisely that sober, frank and critical Marxist rumination which has been missing in our situation today. (On this occasion let us leave to one side what brought this about.) Some of the truths and "truths" caused outright panic and horrified people. Our new and old petit bourgeois, along with the entire mass machinery which works for them, began to be horrified at every victim with false morality and in a mawkish way ("Well, I ask you, just imagine, there was killing done in the war?!?") over every drop of blood that was shed. The petit bourgeois sensibility and mentality already mentioned began to be politicized in its way--we are witnesses of the emergence of outright petit bourgeois hysteria.

A move was even made to deny the Partizan victory which created the historic possibility for establishing a communist alternative on this soil. That type of thinking in the writing of history and in other similar places which sees in revolutions only street disorders, crimes, unrest and chaos became established.

It is logical that these tendencies and phenomena should require a severe critical opposition, a persistent, direct, public and unsparing critical struggle. Because of the seriousness of the problem and because of the size of the stake, that struggle must truly be a daily one, clear and well documented.

But, it must be frankly stated, agitated, nervous and excessive reactions are no help whatsoever. With their inappropriate harshness, they only set up an obstacle to the public job of thinking, they burden Marxist commitment with repressions which are already constantly being put under its nose. Aside from that, such acts only furnish free and inappropriate advertising, and they distract the public's attention from the real and essential issues. The political institutions of socialism cannot be neutral observers by any means, but they must build and constantly continue to build various forms of their own historical bias which do not by any means include the courts, prosecutors' offices, bans or prisons. That type of reaction is impermissible, and there is no need for it if we truly believe in the superiority of the mode of thought on which this country's credentials are based.

Every rejection of the tendency to impose a basic political attitude through all forms of communication and reflection as sufficient in and of itself, as a clear demarcation line, is inherent in the authentic Marxist approach. It possesses all its dignity and value only insofar as it facilitates the comprehensive and existential investigation of every situation in a concrete democratic atmosphere of dialogue. It exists in fact only insofar as it affirms and creatively maintains an awareness that all relations are not established or rounded off solely in the plane of "political ideology, but this also occurs at a greater depth, in the plane of existential and social experience."

It is only by affirming that kind of approach that we can become true custodians of our history, and not only its mere epigones.

'Needless Sentence'

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 82 p 10

[Text] We are confronted with a new judgment against the poet Gojko Djogo. The Supreme Court of Serbia has changed the classification of the criminal act and has reduced his sentence to 1 year in prison.

As is well known, it is long since a case has aroused such public attention. Nor is it any wonder, since a prison sentence has been pronounced for a book of poems which was banned as soon as it appeared. Nor is it any wonder since this is a sensitive field of activity in which the freedom of creativity, critical public expression and the jurisdiction of the court are intertwined. It was in defending the principles of the freedom of creativity that the public said what it had to say about the book "Vunena vremena" [Woolen Times]. No opportunity was missed to say in an entire series of articles what was unacceptable in "Vunena vremena" and why and everything that deserved harsh public criticism and social condemnation. But an equally unanimous and unambiguous attitude was adopted by a large portion of the public and a number of cultural and public figures, which was and still is that the jurisdiction of the court cannot extent to poetic creativity, even though it might go against certain principles of society and might be suitable for various unacceptable types of interpretation (at least no further than what was done by banning the book).

If the district court--perhaps under the influence of the overtense atmosphere, and at one point even an inappropriate linkage of Djogo's book to the events in Kosovo--turned a deaf ear to the attitudes of the public as an essential type of social common sense, and if the court, like any democratic institution, can have the right to make a mistake, it was expected that in the process of further deliberation the court would show greater heed to public expression and to the independence of public thought. It was expected that the higher courts would show more understanding for confirmation of the principle that the sphere of law and legal norms is inseparable from the strategic goals of the socialist self-managing society of Yugoslavia. The public also had a right to expect that what was more valuable could prevail in a sober and calm atmosphere: the principles of the freedom of creativity and their preservation as opposed to the judicial reaction to an unacceptable incident.

This was expected above all in view of the unambiguous, clear and well-known position in the LCY Program, which states that we must wage a committed struggle to "liberate educational, scientific, artistic and cultural life of administrative meddling by the agencies of government."

Yesterday we had an opportunity to read as much in an interview with Vladimir Jovicic, chairman of the Commission of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia for the Ideological Effort in Culture ("Every Boundary Stone Need Not Be a Stumbling Block," POLITIKA, 27 March 1982), a description of the situation in which we confront books "with the superficial features of a work

of art" and when timely public critical expression is lacking. "There are cases," Jovicic said, "when the courts act peremptorily in bringing charges in controversial cases even before any critic has had a chance to speak, before, that is, it has even become quite clear whether the message involved is an esthetic or political one. When the issue reaches the prosecutor, the judge and jury, the time has already passed for public critical expression, since at this point the critic runs the risk of being denounced as a scavenger and signer of the arrest order."

Nor is that any worse than with the type of criticism which, as happened in Djogo's case, reacts promptly and confronts the deed, but subsequently is penalized by the court or some agency in the government administration. It is also morally discredited. And that on many counts--because of the lack of trust in it, because of the consequences under criminal law, because of the direct consequences for the destiny of the person criticized....

The Marxist position--public critical expression--is also vacated when various repressive interventions appear to be supporting it. The handicap of repressiveness should not always be placed on the back of that outlook which rightly considers itself to be Marxist and socialist. There must be a great deal more confidence in the creative intellectual forces of this society and in their capacity for critical recognition and activity.

The decision to punish Gojko Djogo has neglected the fact that the issues being tried had already been settled in the domain of public opinion, in the domain, that is, to which the entire subject matter in fact belongs by the nature of things.

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BRIEFS

FEDERAL OFFICIALS' QUALIFICATIONS--A 23 March 1982 meeting of the SFRY Assembly commission for elections and appointments adopted a new text of the Decision on Critiera for Electing Candidates for Specific Functions in Federal Organs and Organizations. The initial proposal of the commission did not pass the Chamber of the Republics [and Provinces], so today a new one was accepted which differs considerably from the previous one. Namely, all school and professional qualifications envisioned for individual federal secretaries were omitted and replaced by the statement, "proven professional capability and knowledge needed for carrying out the specific function." Also accepted was a Slovenian amendment that one of the criteria be "experience and results in administration necessary for performing the function." In the initial proposal it was planned that all federal secretaries have advanced educational schooling and certain ones also knowledge of a foreign language. It was also planned that some federal secretaries (for instance, the secretaries for finance and foreign trade) have faculty-level education and, of course, knowledge of a foreign language. After discussion in the Chamber where the class character of our cadre policy was pointed out, the [above] changes were made. When the question was raised: What does "proven capability" mean and who is to judge this?--the answer was: It is not proved by documents or school diplomas, but by work and the ability to carry out a specific function. Both chambers of the Assembly must adopt this decision. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 82 p 4]

ARRESTED FOR HOSTILE ACTION--The district court in Doboj has charged Ante (Luka) Kovacevic (30) from Ada in Odzak Opstina of the criminal action of associating [with others], while temporarily residing in Austria, for the purpose of hostile action, hostile propaganda, and slandering the reputation of the SFRY. While in Vienna, working as a teacher in a home for defective children, he joined a group formed to carry out criminal actions of counter-revolutionary danger to the social system and territorial integrity of the SFRY. Acting from the positions of extremist emigre organizations during visits to Odzak, Modrica, and Bosanski Samac opstinas, he called for overturning the rule of the working class, changing the socialist self-management system, the breaking up of brotherhood and unity and equality of our peoples and nationalities, and he presented the sociopolitical situation in our country in a malicious and untruthful way. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 82 p 24]

'DANGEROUS' SLOVENIAN HUMOR--A certain Tone Forneci, called Tof, has been writing a humorous-satirical column in the Slovenian weekly with the largest circulation, NEDELJSKI DNEVNIK. This paper, with a fantastic circulation of 230,000 copies, has a definite influence on the formation of public opinion in this republic. Considering this fact, it would be normal if the journalists of this paper had also a fantastic sense of responsibility for every word expressed, even of a humorous-satirical nature. Unfortunately,...this is not so. In the 28 March 1982 issue, under the title "Historical Dinar," Tof writes: "I did not have a dinar to get coffee from the automat, but it happened that Comrade Zora Tomic, president of the Federal Conference for Social Action of Women in Belgrade, was nearby at the time and gave me a dinar. But I did not spend it for coffee. It would be too bad to spend such a significant piece of money.... So I framed it. This is an historical dinar! The first dinar to come back from Belgrade to Slovenia." ...We do not have the space or the desire to prove the unprecedented stupidity of this "humorous-satirical" contribution of Comrade Tof. It would suffice to ask him: How has it been possible for Slovenia to develop faster than Yugoslavia as a whole...? Thanks to its good work? Yes, of course! But only its work? No one in Slovenia has responded to Tof's nonsense in all this time since 28 March, [although] it would be logical, for at least two reasons: we have become accustomed to open and critical comments from certain Slovenian functionaries and also there is the view that each should clean before his own doorstep first.... [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 82 p 2]

HOSTILE ACTION IN VITINA--In Vitina Opstina [Kosovo] hostile action has been seen largely in writing hostile slogans, distributing pamphlets, causing insecurity among the non-Albanian population, and calling on students, workers, and citizens to boycott classes, work, and action carried out by progressive organized socialist forces. An attempt by a hostile group from the village of Begunce to organize a boycott of classes at the "Boro i Ramiz" secondary school center was recently discovered. Another such group in Gornja Slatina and Donja Slatina was discovered which operated according to the "troika" system, distributed pamphlets and slogans, and tried to include as many others as possible in this organization; propaganda material and mimeograph machines were found. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 82 p 3]

MORE PENSIONERS IN KOSOVO--Although the Kosovo population is the youngest in Yugoslavia, the number of pensioners is increasing from year to year. Last year there were 39,170 which is 6.8 percent more than in 1980. The largest increase is in old-age pensioners (10.5 percent increase), totaling 8,766, while the number of family pensioners [widos, orphans, etc.] increased by 7 percent, and the number of disability pensioners increased by 5 percent. This year the total number of pensioners is expected to increase 8.4 percent over 1981 with 9,720 old-age pensioners (a 12.5 percent increase), 18,960 disability pensioners (6 percent increase), and 13,587 family pensioners. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 82 p 7]

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